193 urban ghetto which was in sight of City Hall in the upstate
369 community had traveled much less extensively than had the children in the isolated rural community of Georgetown County. The rural children, many of whom had lived for extended periods in northern cities, used far more creole forms in their speech than did urban children in the upcountry. Indications were that these rural children might command a wider range of language structures along the creole continuum than those in the more urban area. In asking about mobility
484 patterns among adult speakers in the island community, I
464 discovered that many, if not most, older men had lived off
562 the island for extended periods of their lives and that most women had commuted off the island on a daily basis to mainland jobs for the past three or four decades. In the mainland community, similar patterns prevailed for men, while
[184] women were much less mobile and generally worked near or in
562 their own immediate community. Furthermore, educational
891 patterns for women were different in the two communities to
184 a striking degree. Many mainland women in the older gene-
[212] tion were illiterate, while some island women had gone away
[423] to college. Land ownership patterns on the island provided a measure of economic security which enabled islanders to help educate their daughters. For these educated island-
•167 women, geographic mobility was associated with social mobil-
166 ity as well. Hone who had college educations now lived on
562 the island; some were married to mainland businessmen and
891

167 others lived in other states. For speakers whose social
166 situations are roughly similar in other respects, mobility
562 seems to affect language usage to some extent. Table 9
871 provides figures on degree of geographic mobility and use
of creole and nonstandard forms for island and mainland
speakers.

TABLE 7

167 MOBILITY PATTERNS AND PERCENTAGE OF CREOLE AND
166 NONSTANDARD VARIANTS
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		Speaker	% c/ns Variants	Mobility
MAINLAND	old	1f	68	0
		2f	78	0
		3m	35	3
		4m	32	3
ISLAND	old	5f	38	1
		6f	23	3
		7m	35	3
		8m	39	2
	middle	9f	0	2
		10f	8	3
		11m	15	3
		12m	31	2
	young	13f	33	0
		14f	0	1
		15m	52	0
		16m	42	1

Mobility:
0 - never lived or worked outside community
1 - worked daily outside community
2 - lived weekly or monthly outside community
3 - lived yearly outside community

f - female speaker
m - male speaker

562 484 184 193 older island residents, mobility does not seem to influence language use to any great extent, when comparing island residents with each other. When comparing island women and mainland women, however, the greater mobility of island women may well be related to their greater use of standard forms. Among middle aged men from the island, mobility seems to be a factor in the greater use of creole forms by Speaker 12, who refused to commute to a job which prohibits his return to the island nightly. His use of creole features is twice that of Speaker 11, who spent some years working in Washington, D. C. In the younger group, the woman who has been least mobile uses more creole features than Speaker 14, who clerks regularly in a mainland store. Similarly, the young man (Speaker 15) with least mobility reflects this in his speech, when compared with Speaker 16, who works as a waiter in a resort motel during the tourist season. Sex of speaker appears to outweigh degree of mobility as an influence on language use, but within sex, mobility seems to be a contributing factor.

• 169 Over and above language use, mobility is an important factor in the population patterns of rural Georgetown County. In a report on Population and Economy in the region encompassing the county, concern is expressed about the migration patterns of younger black residents to northern cities. During a twenty-year period from 1950 to 1970, 76.8 percent of black males and 72.6 percent of black females between

5: Nichols L-5 (no date) 1989
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ages 25 and 35 migrated out of the region (Waccamaw Regional Planning and Development Council, 1972). Many of these young people send their children back to the area to be reared by older relatives in a safer environment than the cities can provide, and many return themselves in later life. But the fact remains that the region is losing its young black men and women in great numbers. These migration patterns are no doubt an important contributing factor to the rapid language changes now underway for much of the black population in the region.

5.4 Relationship Between Social Factors and Linguistic Variation

By noting which individual speakers are most advanced in the language change discussed in Chapter 4, it is possible to show an association between social factors discussed in this chapter and the pattern of variation described in the previous chapter. The progression of change for the three linguistic variables was found to be: first, the complementizer; next, the pronouns; and last, the preposition. The language use of the sixteen speakers described in the present chapter is reflected in Table 5 of Chapter 4. (See page 108.) Along the implicational scale shown there, only a younger and a middle aged island woman (Speakers 14 and 9) are shown to use exclusively standard <u>at</u> in the prepositional category, the one most resistant to change. For the third person pronouns, all four young and middle aged

11: Johnson H-4,5 (no date) 1930
(1525-ca. 1880)
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175 423 deceased man's land, and of course claiming the best. Suppose it was bounded by a 'stake and stone' as of old here, minus the stones which are absent; suppose some of the claimants think best to set up new stakes where one has gone to decay, and suppose, as is more likely, their neighbor thinks the new stake encroaches on him and pulls it up entirely, stamping on the hole and putting it in according to his own ideas, etc., etc., ad infinitum. Now, as you must admit that all this is likely to occur, and worse too, would such a state of things tend to bring about a healthy and rapid development?[16]

(578) As Philbrick predicted, controversies over land and the rightful title thereto retarded the progress of the St. Helena people by reducing the acreage and profits of farming and by arousing disputes which sent some of the best blood from the Island.

175 •167 735 Hard times drove many of the young men from the Island and led many a mother and father to permit even their young children to be sent away as servants so that they might have a better opportunity of making a living than farming on St. Helena afforded. Early in 1867 Miss Towne wrote to a relative in Philadelphia, "I wish you could have the comfort the Heacocks have in the little darkies they sent North. The two young girls are large and strong and able to do pretty much all the work of the house. They work without wages till they are of age, but are to have the privilege of schooling. The experiment has been a perfect success, and every few weeks some one sends to them for another girl or boy, and all have given satisfaction so far."[17] Most of the boys and girls who left the Island in their teens went only as far as the nearby

[16] *Letters from Port Royal*, pp. 273, 274.
[17] *Letters and Diary*, p. 182.

11: Johnson H-4,5 (no date) 1930
(1525-ca. 1880)
NN23 Sea Islanders NN23
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towns where they found employment as servants and day laborers. Miss Towne speaks of their flocking back to St. Helena once a year "from Savannah, Charleston, Bull River, and all about" to attend the "exhibition" of Penn School.[18] Robert Smalls, famous during the war as the Beaufort Negro who turned over a Confederate steamer to Union officers and later conspicuous as a Congressman from South Carolina, attempted in 1879 to lead a group of Negroes from St. Helena's Parish to Arizona.

The discovery and utilization of the phosphate beds along the coast of South Carolina came in 1870 as a god-send to black laborers as well as to the whites who organized the companies. Many a St. Helena black man left his farm for his wife and children to cultivate while he went to the "Rock," as the phosphate mines in the coastal counties were called, to get "cash money." When digging was commenced just off Eddings' Point on St. Helena, the news "set all the boys wild."[19] In 1871 the *Beaufort Republican*, after announcing the enlargement of one of the phosphate mines, added, "Our colored friends can look to the future with pleasure and know that they will not have to roam over the country next summer to look for work but will find it on Bull River at the Oak Point Mine."[20] When the phosphate beds were exhausted, oyster factories began to be erected at Beaufort, on Ladies Island, and on St. Helena so that the Negroes still had a means of earning a little ready money either as hands in the factories or as laborers on the oyster boats. There were, also, still five or six white families on St. Helena

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 286.
[19] *Ibid.*, p. 273.
[20] *Beaufort Republican*, Nov. 23, 1871.